DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 110 377 SO 008 501

AUTHOR Banks, James A.
TITLE Ethnic Studies as a Process of Curriculum Reform.
SPONS AGENCY National Academy of Education, Stanford, Calif.
PUB DATE Apr 75
NOTE 38p.; Paper presented at the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Conference on Cultural Pluralism (Tarrytown, New York, April 4-6, 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Conceptual Schemes; *Cultural Pluralism; *Curriculum Development; *Curriculum Problems; Decision Making; Educational Development; Elementary Secondary Education; *Ethnic Studies; Minority Groups; Relevance (Education); *Social Studies; Teaching Techniques

ABSTRACT

There are several widespread assumptions about ethnic studies which have adversely affected the development of ethnic studies programs in the schools. Five of these assumptions are that ethnic studies are (1) the study of ethnic minority groups, (2) designed for ethnic minorities, (3) supplementary to the curriculum, (4) the study of strange customs, and (5) the celebration of ethnic holidays. Instead, ethnic studies should be conceptualized as a process of curriculum reform that will result in the formulation of a new curriculum with novel assumptions, goals, and means. Three major interdependent goals for curriculum reform and ethnic studies include helping individuals to clarify their ethnic identities and function effectively within their own ethnic communities, to develop a sensitivity to and understanding of other ethnic cultures and to function effectively within them, and to develop the ability to make reflective decisions on social issues and to take effective actions to resolve social problems. With these goals in mind, ethnic studies should become a study of historical and contemporary social events from a multiethnic perspective rather than from an Anglo-American perspective. Specific steps and teaching strategies which social studies teachers can take to implement a multiethnic social studies curriculum are outlined. (Author/JR)

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ETHNIC STUDIES AS A PROCESS OF CURRICULUM REFORM

by

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ETHNIC STUDIES AS A PROCESS OF CURRICULUM REFORM*

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There are several widespread assumptions about ethnic studies which have adversely affected the development of ethnic studies programs in the schools. We need to examine and to challenge these assumptions and related school practices and to formulate new assumptions and goals for ethnic studies if the ethnic studies movement is going to serve as a catalyst for curriculum reform. The greatest promise of ethnic studies is that it will serve as a vehicle for general curriculum reform. If we merely add ethnic content to the traditional curriculum, which is highly dysfunctional, our efforts to modify the curriculum with ethnic content are likely to lead to a dead end. We must radically change the total school curriculum.

Assumptions About Ethnic Studies

Ethnic Studies as Ethnic Minority Studies

One pervasive assumption embraced by many educators is that ethnic studies deals exclusively or primarily with non-White minority groups, such as Asian-Americans, Native Americans, and Afro-Americans. This assumption

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*A paper prepared for presentation at the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Conference on Cultural Pluralism, Tarrytown, New York, April 4-6, 1975. The author is grateful to the National Academy of Education for providing financial assistance, in the form of a Spencer Fellowship, which helped to cover the expenses incurred in preparing this paper.

is widespread within the schools. School ethnic studies programs are often based upon and reflect it. In many school ethnic studies programs, for example, little or no attention is devoted to the experiences of European American ethnic groups, such as Jewish-Americans, Polish-Americans, and Italian-Americans. This narrow conceptualization of ethnic studies emerged out of the social forces which gave rise to the ethnic studies movement.

In the 1960s, Afro-Americans staged a fight for their civil rights that was unprecedented in their history. They demanded control of various social, economic, and political institutions within the Black community. Blacks were keenly aware of the extent to which written history influences how a group views itself and how others view it. Consequently, they also demanded that versions of history be written that were more consistent with their experiences in this nation and that textbooks which they considered biased be banned from the public schools.[1] Blacks claimed, with much validity, that many school books perpetuated stereotypic views of their experience in the Americas.

Other ethnic minority groups, made acutely aware of their own ethnic identity by the Black Revolt, also called for new versions of school history that would more accurately reflect their experiences in the Americas. Native Americans argued that their long history in this land prior to 1492 should be highlighted in the curriculum.[2] Mexican-Americans called for a new interpretation of the "winning of the West" and the fateful Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848.[3] Asian-American activists and scholars set forth refreshing interpretations of events, such as the anti-Chinese movement in the late 1800s, the internment of Japanese-Americans, and the anti-Filipino riots in California in the 1920s.[4] They wanted these interpretations of historical events to be included in the school curriculum. Puerto Rican-American scholars argued that the Treaty of Paris (1898), which ended the Spanish-American War, needed to

be interpreted from a Puerto Rican perspective.[5]

The types of ethnic studies programs which have been formulated in most school districts and colleges reflect the political and social demands that have been made within local communities. Responding largely to crises and public pressures, curriculum specialists have devised ethnic studies programs without giving serious thought to the basic issues which should be considered when curriculum changes are made. The nature of learning, the social and psychological needs of students, and social science theory and research are the types of problems and issues which received little if any consideration in the hurriedly formulated ethnic studies programs which now exist in many schools. Rather, the overriding consideration was to create some kinds of programs so that ethnic demands would be met and militant ethnic students and faculty would be silenced. Consequently, ethnic studies became defined as the study of ethnic minority groups; and most of the programs that were formulated were parochial in scope, fragmented, and were structured without careful planning and clear rationales.

Ethnic Studies and Ethnic Minorities

A related assumption which school people often make about ethnic studies is that only students who are members of a particular ethnic minority group should study that group's history and culture. This assumption, too, grew out of the historical and social forces of the 1960s. Blacks argued that Black students needed Black history in order to augment their self-concepts and identities.[6] Mexican-Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans, and other ethnic minority groups set forth similar arguments about why specialized ethnic studies courses, such as Puerto Rican-American Studies and Chicano Studies, were needed. Using these arguments, many school people conveniently concluded that only Blacks needed Black Studies and only Mexican-American students needed Chicano Studies.

School ethnic studies programs frequently focus on one specific ethnic group, such as Puerto Rican-Americans, Afro-Americans, or Native Americans.* The ethnic group upon which the program focuses is usually either present or dominant in the local school population. In schools which are predominantly Mexican-American, there are usually courses in Chicano Studies but no courses or experiences which will help students to learn about the problems and heritages of other ethnic groups, such as Afro-Americans, Filipino-Americans, or Jewish-Americans. Significantly, specialized ethnic studies courses are rarely found in predominantly White schools and are almost always electives in schools with a large minority group population. The popularity of these courses has waned tremendously within the last several years. In some schools, few Black students are now taking Black Studies courses.

Ethnic Studies as an Addition to the Curriculum

Many school people assume that ethnic studies is essentially additive in nature and that we can create valid ethnic studies programs by leaving the present curriculum essentially intact; we can simply add a list of minority group heroes and events to the list of Anglo-American heroes and events which are already studied in most social studies courses. These educators believe that we should teach about the heroic deeds of Booker T. Washington and Geronimo just as we teach about the heroic deeds of Betsy Ross and Abraham Lincoln, and that pictures of Black and American Indian heroes should be added to those of eminent White Americans that are already hanging in the school

*Increasingly, school districts are formulating programs which deal with several ethnic groups. In most cases, however, the groups studied are represented in the local school population. Rarely, for example, are Puerto Rican-Americans included in multiethnic units in cities such as Los Angeles and Seattle. A provincial regionalism still haunts school ethnic studies programs despite recent trends toward the development of more global and comparative approaches.

corridors and classrooms. In additive types of ethnic studies programs, students are required to memorize isolated facts about White history and Black history.

Conceptualizing ethnic studies as essentially additive in nature is problematic for several reasons. A large body of educational literature has documented the traditional and nonstimulating nature of many American history courses and has stated why reform in the teaching of the social studies, and of American history in particular, is sorely needed.[7] While much reform has taken place in the teaching of history in the last decade, especially in textbooks, in many social studies classes teachers still emphasize the mastery of low level historical facts and do not help students to master high level concepts, generalizations, and theories. Modifying the school curriculum to include ethnic content provides a tremendous opportunity to reexamine the assumptions, purposes and nature of the curriculum and to formulate a curriculum with new assumptions and goals. Merely adding low level facts about ethnic content to a curriculum which is already bulging with discrete and isolated facts about White history and heroes will result in an overkill. Isolated facts about Crispus Attucks don't stimulate the intellect any more than isolated facts about Betsy Ross and Abraham Lincoln. To meaningfully integrate content about ethnic groups into the total school curriculum we must undertake more drastic and innovative curriculum reform.

Ethnic Studies as the Study of Strange Customs

Other assumptions are made about ethnic studies and many current school practices reflect them. Some teachers, especially in the lower grades, believe that ethnic studies should deal primarily with those tangible elements of minority cultures which seem strange and different to themselves and to their students. Consequently, experiences in the primary grades often focus on the foods and "strange" customs and artifacts of minority cultures, such as soul

food, teepees, igloos, and chow mein. Focusing on the customs within ethnic minority groups which seem strange to teachers and their students is likely to reinforce stereotypes and misconceptions rather than help students to develop cultural sensitivity and tolerance of other cultures, which is usually the goal stated by teachers when they plan these types of learning experiences.

Since many primary grade teachers are unlikely to approach the study of cultural differences from an anthropological and sensitive perspective, their students are likely to conclude that cultural characteristics which are different from their own are indeed strange and different and that minority peoples share few characteristics with them. Emphasis in ethnic studies should be on the human characteristics and values of ethnic groups, and not on strange customs or tangible cultural elements like teepees and sombreros. Ethnic content should be used to help students learn that all human beings have common needs and characteristics, although the ways in which these traits are manifested frequently differ cross-culturally.

Ethnic Studies as the Celebration of Ethnic Holidays

Some teachers, again usually in the elementary grades, see ethnic studies primarily as the celebration of ethnic holidays, such as Martin Luther King's birthday and Cinco de Mayo. In many schools, lessons about ethnic groups are limited primarily to these types of special days and holidays. Some schools set aside particular days or weeks of the year for Black history and culture, Mexican-American history and culture, and Indian history and culture. In a few cases, especially in schools which are regarded as progressive, a special day for Jewish history and culture is set aside. The long-range effects of these kinds of special "ethnic days" might be detrimental and serve to reinforce the notion that ethnic groups, such as Afro-Americans and Jewish-Americans,

are not integral parts of American society and culture. This is especially likely to happen if ethnic groups are studied only on special days or in special units and lessons. The students are likely to conclude that American history and Black history are distinctly separate and mutually exclusive entities.

The notion that Afro-American history, Jewish-American history, and Mexican-American history are integral parts of American history must be reflected in the way in which the American history course is organized and in all activities and teaching strategies. Special units and days might prevent the students from developing the notion that these groups are integral parts of American history and culture. However, if ethnic minority groups are integral parts of the school curriculum, highlighting the experiences of a particular ethnic group is less likely to result in negative learning by students. The danger of negative learnings occurring is greatly increased when these types of experiences are isolated and are not integral parts of the total school curriculum.

Expanding the Definition of Ethnic Studies

Each of the major assumptions reviewed and criticized above, while widespread and in some cases understandable, is intellectually indefensible and continues to have adverse effects on ethnic studies in the schools. The assumption that ethnic studies is equivalent to ethnic minority studies is one of the most widespread beliefs held by school people.

It is both inaccurate and educationally unsound to assume that ethnic studies should be limited to a study of ethnic minority groups. Ethnic studies should be, in part, the scientific and humanistic examination of those variables related to ethnicity which influence human behavior. Any individual or group whose behavior can be totally or partially explained by variables related to ethnicity is an appropriate subject in ethnic studies. A definition of an ethnic

group can help us to determine the parameters of ethnic studies and the curricular implications of the concept. While there is no one definition of an ethnic group which is accepted by the social science community, Gordon's definition is useful. He writes:

> When I use the term "ethnic group," I shall mean by it any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories. I do not mean to imply that these three concepts mean the same thing.... However, all of these categories have a common social psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood.[8]

Isajiw undertook an extensive review of definitions of ethnicity and attempted to formulate a composite definition.[9] He defines an ethnic group as "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group."[10] An ethnic group also shares a sense of peoplehood and, as Glazer and Moynihan perceptively point out, tends to be an economic and political interest group.[11] The characteristics of an ethnic group delineated by these definitions suggest that every American can be considered a member of an ethnic group. These definitions indicate that Anglo-Americans, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, as well as Afro-Americans and Puerto Rican-Americans, should be studied within a comparative ethnic studies program. Members of all of these groups exhibit behavioral characteristics which can be partially explained by variables related to ethnicity.

Ethnic studies programs should include but not be limited to a study of ethnic minority groups. An ethnic minority group is a particular type of ethnic group with several distinguishing characteristics. Like an ethnic group, an ethnic minority group shares values, behavioral characteristics, and a sense of peoplehood, and is an economic and political interest group.[12] However, an ethnic minority group has unique physical and/or cultural characteristics which enable

members of other groups to easily identify its members, usually for purposes of discrimination. Jewish-Americans are an ethnic minority group with unique cultural characteristics; Afro-Americans have unique physical and cultural characteristics. Ethnic minorities are frequently a numerical minority and are often politically and economically powerless within a society. However, this is not always the case. In South Africa, the Blacks are politically and economically powerless but are a numerical majority. However, they are considered a sociological minority.

To conceptualize ethnic studies as the study of ethnic minorities is inconsistent with the ways in which ethnicity is defined by sociologists and prevents the development of broadly conceptualized ethnic studies programs which compare and contrast the experiences of all of the immigrants who came to America and that help students to fully understand the complex role of ethnicity in American life and culture. Conceptualizing ethnic studies exclusively as the study of non-White ethnic groups also promotes a kind of "we-they" attitude among White students and teachers. Many students believe that ethnic studies is the study of "them," while American history is the study of "us." Some teachers assume that because ethnic studies is the study of "them," it should be taught only when there is a non-White population within the school to take ethnic studies courses.

Ethnic Studies: A Process of Curriculum Reform

Ethnic studies should not be limited to the study of ethnic minority groups although it should definitely include them. It should not be an addition to or an appendage to the regular curriculum. Rather, ethnic studies should be viewed as a process of curriculum reform which will result in the creation of a new curriculum that is based on new assumptions and new perspectives, and which will help students to gain novel views of the American experience and a new conception of

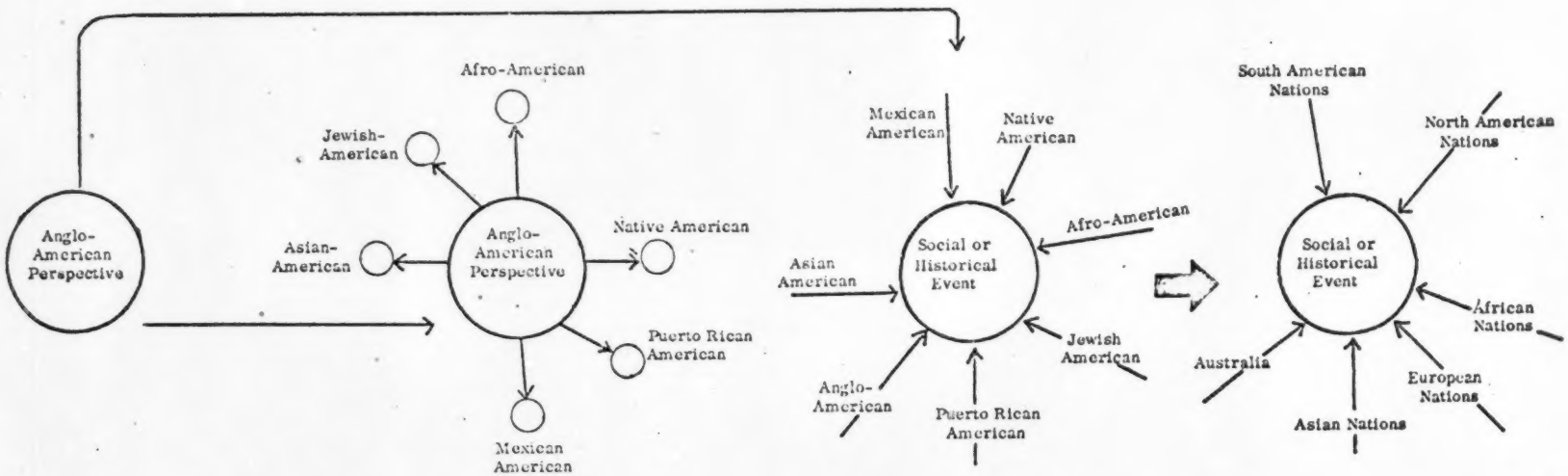
what it means to be American. Since the English immigrants gained control over most economic, social, and political institutions early in our national history, to Americanize has been interpreted to mean to Anglicize. Especially during the height of nativism in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the English-Americans defined Americanization as Anglicization.[13] This notion of Americanization is still widespread within our society and schools today. Thus when we think of American history and American literature we tend to think of Anglo-American history and Anglo-American literature.

Reconceptualizing American Society

Since the assumption that only that which is Anglo-American is American is so deeply ingrained in curriculum materials and in the hearts and minds of many students and teachers, we cannot significantly change the curriculum by merely adding a unit or a lesson here and there about Afro-American, Jewish-American, or Italian-American history. Rather, we need to seriously examine the conception of American that is perpetuated in the curriculum and the basic purposes and assumptions of the curriculum.

It is imperative that we totally reconceptualize the ways in which we view American society and history in the school curriculum. We should teach American history from diverse ethnic perspectives rather than primarily or exclusively from the points of view of Anglo-American historians and writers. Most American history courses are currently taught primarily from an Anglo-American perspective. These types of courses and experiences are based on what I call the Anglo-American Centric Model or Model A (see Figure 1). Ethnic studies, as a process of curriculum reform, can and often does proceed from Model A to Model B, the Ethnic Additive Model. In courses and experiences based on Model B, ethnic content is an additive to the major curriculum thrust,

FIGURE 1. ETHNIC STUDIES AS A PROCESS OF CURRICULUM CHANGE



MODEL A

Anglo-American Centric Model

MODEL B

Ethnic Additive Model

MODEL C

Multiethnic Model

MODEL D

Multinational Model

Ethnic studies is conceptualized as a process of curriculum reform which can lead from a total Anglo-American perspective on our history and culture (MODEL A), to multiethnic perspectives as additives to the major curriculum thrust (MODEL B), to a completely multiethnic curriculum in which every historical and social event is viewed from the perspectives of different ethnic groups (MODEL C). In MODEL C the Anglo-American perspective is only one of several and is in no way superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives. MODEL D, which is multinational, is the ultimate curriculum goal. In this curriculum model, students study historical and social events from multinational perspectives and points of view. Many schools that have attempted ethnic modification of the curriculum have implemented MODEL B types of programs. It is suggested here that curriculum reform move directly from MODEL A to MODEL C and ultimately to MODEL D. However, in those districts which have MODEL B types of programs, it is suggested that they move from MODEL B to MODEL C and eventually to MODEL D types of curricular organizations.

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which remains Anglo-American dominated. Many school districts that have attempted ethnic modification of the curriculum have implemented Model B types of curricular changes. Black Studies courses, Chicano Studies courses, and special units on ethnic groups in the elementary grades are examples of Model B types of curricular experiences.

However, I am suggesting that curriculum reform proceed directly from Model A to Model C, the Multiethnic Model. In courses and experiences based on Model C, the students study historical and social events from several ethnic points of view. Anglo-American perspectives are only one group of several and are in no way superior or inferior to other ethnic perspectives. I view Model D, the Multinational Model, types of courses and programs as the ultimate goal of curriculum reform. In this curriculum model, students study historical and social events from multinational perspectives and points of view. Since we live in a global society, students need to learn how to become effective citizens of the world community. This is unlikely to happen if they study historical and contemporary social events primarily from the perspective of ethnic cultures within this nation.

Teaching Multiethnic Perspectives

When studying a historical period, such as the colonial period, in a course organized on the Multiethnic Model (Model C), the inquiry does not end when the students view the period from the perspectives of Anglo-American historians and writers. Rather, they ponder these kinds of questions: Why did Anglo-American historians name the English immigrants "colonists" and other nationality groups "immigrants?" How do Native American historians view the colonial period? Do their views of the period differ in any substantial ways from the views of Anglo-American historians? Why or why not? What was life like

for the Jews, Blacks, and other ethnic groups in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? How do we know? In other words, in courses and programs organized on Model C, students view historical and contemporary events from the perspectives of different ethnic and racial groups.

I am not suggesting that we eliminate or denigrate Anglo-American history or Anglo-American perspectives on historical events. I am merely suggesting that Anglo-American perspectives should be among many different ethnic perspectives taught in the social studies and in American history. Only by approaching the study of American society in this way will students get a global rather than an ethnocentric view of our nation's history and culture.

A historian's experience and culture, including his ethnic culture, cogently influences his views of the past and present.[14] However, it would be simplistic to argue that there is one Anglo-American view of history and contemporary events or one Black view. Wide differences in experiences and perceptions exist both within and across ethnic groups. However, those who have experienced a historical event or a social phenomenon, such as racial bigotry or internment, often view the event differently than those who have watched it from a distance.[15] There is no one Anglo-American perspective on the internment as there is no one Japanese-American view of it. However, accounts written by those who were interned, such as Takashima's powerful Child in Prison Camp,[16] often provide insights and perspectives on the internment which cannot be provided by people who were not interned. Individuals who viewed the internment from the outside can also provide us with unique and important perspectives and points of view. Both perspectives should be studied in a sound social studies curriculum.

Only by looking at events, such as the internment, from many different perspectives can we fully understand the complex dimensions of American history and culture. Various ethnic groups within our society are often influenced

by events differently and respond to and perceive them differently. One of the goals of ethnic studies should be to change the basic assumptions about what American means and to present students with new ways of viewing and interpreting American history and culture. Any goals which are less ambitious, while important, will not result in the substantial and radical curricular reform which I consider imperative.

Ethnic Studies and Ethnic Conflict

Those of us in ethnic studies write and talk most frequently about the positive effects which cultural diversity can have on American society. However, we rarely speak candidly about the conflict inherent within a society which is made up of diverse ethnic groups with conflicting goals, ideologies, and strong feelings of ethnocentrism. Some educators are deeply concerned that ethnic studies, by fostering ethnic pride, might lead to extreme ethnic conflict and the Balkanization of American society. In designing ethnic studies programs and experiences, we must give serious and thoughtful consideration to this complex question. Otherwise, this legitimate concern may become a rationalization for inaction and a justification for the status quo.

Whether ethnic studies content and programs contribute to the development of dysfunctional ethnic polarization and social conflict or help to bring about democratic social change depends to some extent on the ways in which ethnic studies programs are conceptualized and taught. Ethnic studies programs which focus exclusively on the sins of Anglo-Americans and the virtues of oppressed minorities are less likely to help students to develop the kinds of skills and attitudes which they need to function successfully within our pluralistic society than an ethnic studies program which focuses on helping students to develop humanistic attitudes and the skills to engage in reflective social action. There is little reason

to believe that an ethnic studies program which fosters reflective social action is likely to promote dysfunctional ethnic conflict and polarization. However, this kind of ethnic studies program is designed to promote the development of social change that will make our society more open and just. Conflict is a necessary concomitant of any form of social change. Consequently, ethnic studies should deal with systems and processes that will facilitate the resolution of ethnic conflict in a pluralistic society.

The Goals of Ethnic Studies

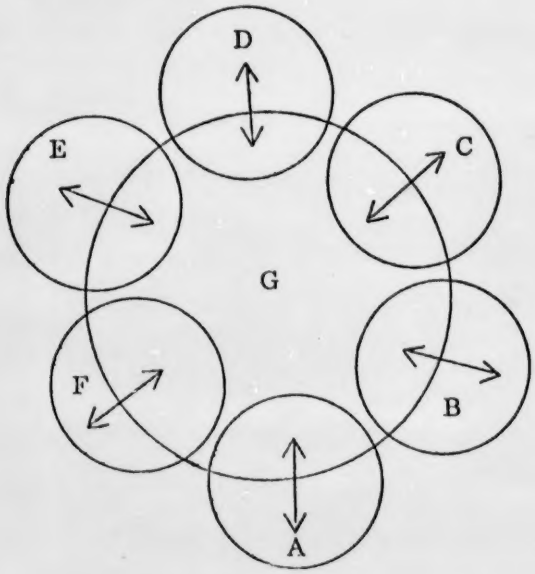
Developing Ethnic Literacy

To foster democratic social change and yet reduce dysfunctional ethnic and racial polarization, ethnic studies must have at least three major goals: (1) to help individuals to clarify their ethnic identities and to function effectively within their own ethnic communities, (2) to help individuals to develop a sensitivity to and understanding of other ethnic cultures and to function effectively within them, and (3) to help individuals to develop the ability to make reflective decisions on social issues and to take actions to resolve social problems. Individuals who develop these characteristics and skills have what I call ethnic literacy.[17] The first two of these goals are discussed below. The final goal is examined in the next section.

An individual must clarify his own sense of ethnic and personal identity before he can positively relate to individuals who belong to other ethnic and racial groups. We need to foster the development of self-acceptance but discourage ethnic ethnocentrism. Although individuals within a pluralistic society must learn to accept their own identity and to become comfortable with it, they must also learn to function effectively within other ethnic cultures and to respond positively to individuals who belong to other ethnic groups (see Figure 2). They must also

Figure 2

The Sociocultural Environment of Ethnic Youths



The ethnic minority youth functions within two socio-ethnic environments, that of his or her ethnic subsociety and that of the dominant ethnic group, Anglo-Americans. The circles labeled A through F represent ethnic minority subsocieties. The circle labeled G represents the dominant ethnic society. The school should help ethnic minority children to learn to function successfully within their own ethnic subsociety, other ethnic subsocieties, and the dominant ethnic society. It should help Anglo-Americans to learn to function in all of these ethnic subsocieties and present them with cultural and ethnic alternatives.

learn how to interact with members of outside groups and how to resolve conflicts with them.

There is no inherent contradiction in teaching students how to understand and to function effectively within their own ethnic cultures and to understand and to function successfully within other ethnic cultures and communities, including the dominant culture. Both of these goals are equally significant within a pluralistic nation. The attainment of one is not likely to occur unless both are realized and fostered. It is extremely difficult for a Mexican-American child to accept his cultural heritage if it is demeaned by "significant others" in institutions like the school. It is also very difficult for Anglo-Americans to learn to respond to non-Whites positively and sensitively if they are unaware of the perceptions of their culture that are held by other ethnic groups and of the ways in which the dominant culture evolved and attained the power to shape the United States in its image.

We have never fully realized the positive effects which can accrue from the diverse nature of our society because the major goal of most social institutions, historically, has been to Anglicize ethnic groups, to disregard their ethnic cultures, and to foster a monocultural societal ideal. The result has been that almost every ethnic group has struggled to become culturally like Anglo-Americans. Those groups which have been the most successful have attained the highest levels of social and economic mobility. The ethnic groups in our society that are the most "ethnic" tend to be heavily concentrated in the lower and working classes. Because most of the institutions within our society tend to foster and to idealize Anglo-Saxon cultural characteristics and do not encourage Anglo-Americans to function in other ethnic cultures, Anglo-Americans are rarely required to function within other ethnic communities; members of other ethnic groups tend to reject their ethnic cultures and to strive to attain Anglo-American cultural traits. However, this is less true today than in the past. Ethnic diversity and cultural

pluralism will not become ideals in our society until members of the dominant ethnic group and members of other ethnic groups better understand their own cultures and learn to function within and across cultures. With these goals, ethnic studies is more likely to foster constructive social change and to reduce, rather than to enhance, ethnic tension and conflict.

Developing Decision-making Skills

A third major goal of ethnic studies should be to help students develop the ability to make reflective decisions so that they can resolve personal problems, and through social action, influence public policy and develop a sense of political efficacy.[18] In many ethnic studies units and lessons, emphasis is on the memorization and testing of isolated historical facts about shadowy ethnic heroes and events of questionable historical significance. In these types of programs ethnic studies is merely an extension of the traditional history or social studies program.

Ethnic studies should have goals which are more consistent with the needs of a global society. Events within the last decade have dramatically indicated that we live in a world society that is beset with momentous social and human problems. Effective solutions to these tremendous problems can be found only by an active and informed citizenry capable of making sound public decisions that will benefit the world community. It is imperative that the school, and the social studies in particular, play a decision role in educating citizens capable of making intelligent decisions on social issues and taking affirmative actions to help resolve them.

Elements of Reflective Decision-making

Decision-making consists of several components, including the derivation of knowledge, prediction, value analysis and clarification, the synthesis of knowledge

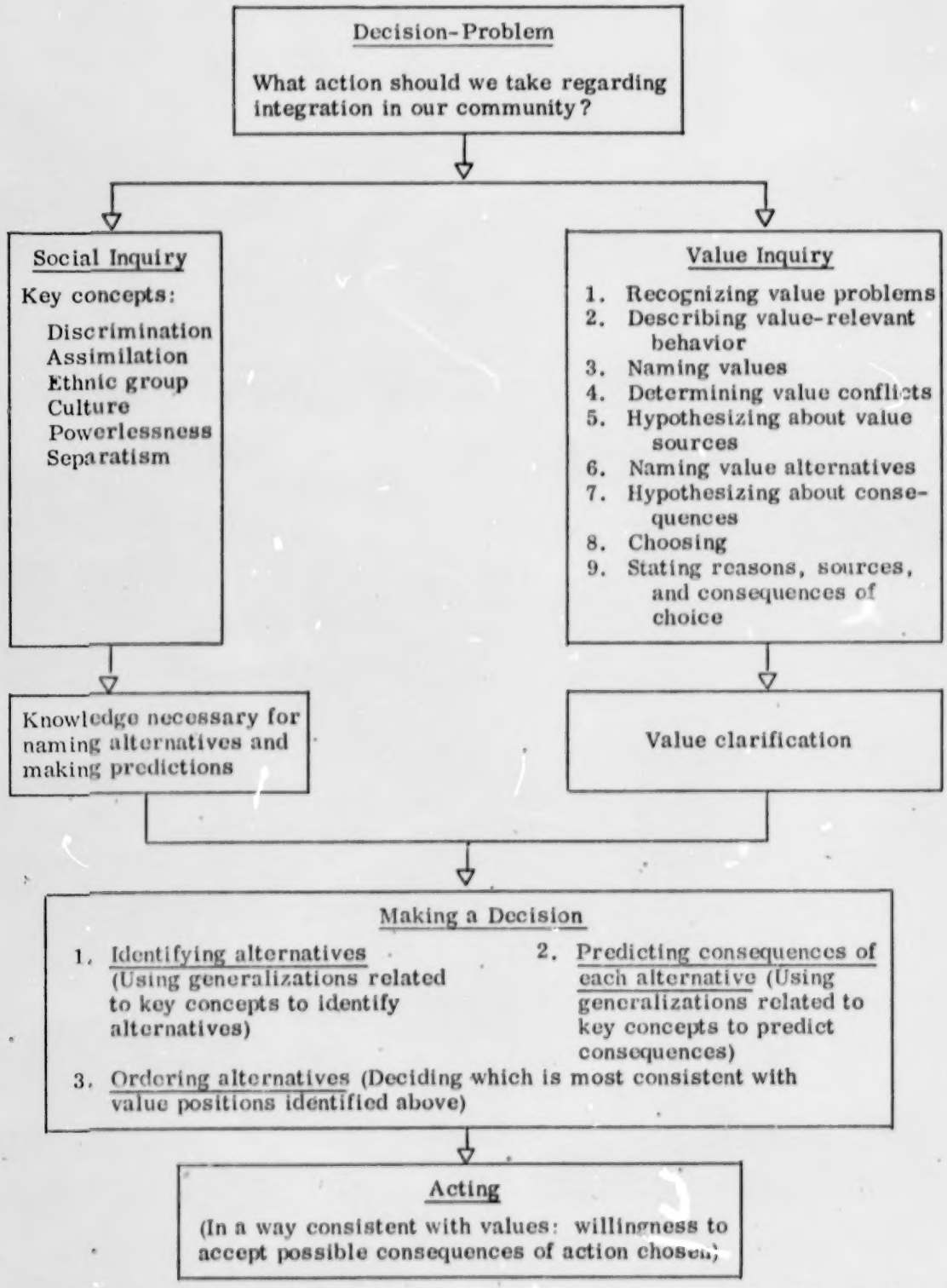
and values, and the affirmation of a course of action[19] (see Figure 3). While all decisions consist of knowledge, valuing and prediction components, reflective decisions must satisfy other requirements. To make a reflective decision, the decision-maker must use the scientific method to attain knowledge. The knowledge must not only be scientific; it must be interdisciplinary and cut across disciplinary lines. Knowledge from any one discipline is insufficient to help us make intelligent decisions. To make reflective decisions about social issues, such as forced busing for school integration and public welfare, the individual must view these problems from the perspectives of several disciplines, such as sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology. The perspective of any one discipline is too limited to guide intelligent decision-making and reflective social action.

Categories of Knowledge

The knowledge on which reflective decisions are made must also be powerful and widely applicable so that it will enable the decision-maker to make the most accurate predictions possible. There are several categories of knowledge and they vary in their predictive capacity and in their ability to help us to organize our observations.

Factual knowledge, which consists of specific statements about limited phenomena, is the lowest level of knowledge and has the least predictive capacity. Concepts are words or phrases which enable us to categorize or classify a large class of observations and thus to reduce the complexity of our social environment. Because of their structure and function, concepts in and of themselves do not possess predictive value. However, generalizations, which state relationships between concepts and variables, enable us to predict behavior; the predictive capacity of generalizations vary directly with their degree of applicability and

Figure 3 The Decision-making Process*


Decision-Problem
What action should we take regarding integration in our community?
Social Inquiry
Key concepts:
Discrimination
Assimilation
Ethnic group
Culture
Powerlessness
Separatism
Value Inquiry
1. Recognizing value problems
2. Describing value-relevant behavior
3. Naming values
4. Determining value conflicts
5. Hypothesizing about value sources
6. Naming value alternatives
7. Hypothesizing about consequences
8. Choosing
9. Stating reasons, sources, and consequences of choice
Knowledge necessary for naming alternatives and making predictions
Value clarification
Making a Decision
1. Identifying alternatives (Using generalizations related to key concepts to identify alternatives)
2. Predicting consequences of each alternative (Using generalizations related to key concepts to predict consequences)
3. Ordering alternatives (Deciding which is most consistent with value positions identified above)
Acting
(In a way consistent with values: willingness to accept possible consequences of action chosen)

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amount of empirical support. Generalizations which describe a large class of behavior and which have been widely verified are the most useful for making predictions. Theory is the highest form of knowledge and the most useful for predictive purposes. A theory consists of a deductive system of logically interrelated generalizations.[20] Although no grand or all-inclusive theories exist in the social sciences as in the physical sciences, numerous partial or middle range theories exist, such as Durkheim's theory of suicide and Gordon's theory of cultural assimilation.

Key Concepts

To make reflective decisions, the student must be able to use the scientific method to derive high level generalizations and theories since these forms of knowledge will enable him to make the most accurate predictions. The most predictive generalizations and theories are those which are related to the key concepts of the social science disciplines. The identification of key concepts within the social sciences enables the decision-maker to use the most powerful generalizations which constitute the behavioral sciences and which can make the greatest contribution to the resolution of personal and social problems and facilitate the influencing of public policy.

The Value Component of Decision-making

Reflective decisions have a valuing as well as a knowledge component. Thus, a decision-making focused curriculum must provide students practice in discussing and analyzing moral issues. However, moral education for reflective decision-making, like knowledge mastery, must have definite characteristics. Educators use a variety of approaches to value education. These include the indoctrination of what adults consider the "correct" values, the repression or

superficial treatment of value laden issues, and the teaching of values by examples.

These approaches to moral education do not help students to develop the ability to make reflective decisions or to apply their highest level of moral judgment.[21] To make reflective decisions, students must be taught a process for deriving, clarifying, and reflecting upon the consequences of their value choices within an uncoerced classroom atmosphere. Kohlberg and his colleagues have delineated the stages of moral development which individuals experience. They believe that a major goal of moral education should be to stimulate students to raise their levels of moral reasoning. Note Kohlberg and Turiel,

> These stages have been validated by longitudinal and cross-cultural study, and their implications for education have been examined in a series of experimental investigations. Assuming that moral development does indeed pass through this natural sequence of stages, our approach defines the aim of moral education as the stimulation of the next step of development rather than indoctrination into the fixed conventions of the school, the church, or the nation. Facilitating the child's movement to the next step of development involves (1) exposure to the next higher level of thought and (2) experiences of conflict in the application of the child's level of thought to problematic situations.[22]

Only when a decision-maker is acutely aware of his values and their possible consequences, and is willing to accept those consequences, can he make sound decisions and act intelligently to resolve personal problems and to shape public policy. Content related to ethnic groups contains many moral dilemmas and can be effectively used to simulate discussion about moral issues. The teacher can use a wide variety of stimulus materials when teaching value inquiry lessons, such as case studies clipped from the daily newspaper or written by the teacher, open-ended stories, photographs and literary selections.

There are a number of value inquiry models, based on somewhat different assumptions and theories, which the teacher can use to guide the planning of value inquiry lessons. Strategies developed by Raths and his colleagues are presented in several publications.[23] The staff of the Social Studies Curriculum

Center at Carnegie-Mellon University, directed by Edwin Fenton, are now developing classroom strategies based on Kohlberg's stages of moral development. The lesson plan format developed by the CMU staff consists of three major components, (1) an original dilemma (a case study which describes a moral dilemma faced by an individual), (2) alternative dilemmas (to be used if the original dilemma fails to evoke disagreement and class discussion), and (3) probe questions (to stimulate student discussion and value analysis).[24] I have developed a value inquiry model which teachers can use to help students to identify, clarify, and to reflectively analyze their values and those of other individuals and groups.[25] Space prevents me from elaborating on either the rationale or the steps of this model. However, what follows is the model in outline form and a case study with sample questions based on the model.

1. defining and recognizing value problems: observation-discrimination

2. describing value-relevant behavior: description-discrimination

3. naming values exemplified by behavior described: identification-description, hypothesizing

4. determining conflicting values in behavior described: identification-analysis

5. hypothesizing about the sources of values analyzed: hypothesizing (citing data to support hypotheses)

6. naming alternative values to those exemplified by behavior observed: recalling

7. hypothesizing about the possible consequences of the values analyzed: predicting, comparing, contrasting

8. declaring value preference: choosing

9. stating reasons, sources, and possible consequences of value choice: justifying, hypothesizing, predicting

Mr. Diaz and Mr. Seda on the Mainland*

Mr. Díaz looks Caucasian. In Puerto Rico he and Mr. Seda, who is de color, were very close friends. They both now live in New York City. When they first came to New York City, they would visit each other often, as they had done in Puerto Rico. Eventually Mr. Díaz started visiting Mr. Seda less and less and would often act unfriendly when Mr. Seda came to visit him, especially when his White friends were over. Mr. Díaz's White friends would always give Mr. Seda strange looks when he came over. Mr. Díaz began to understand that in New York City he was expected to mix socially with Whites only. Now, Mr. Díaz never visits Mr. Seda, and Mr. Seda goes to Mr. Diaz's house very seldom. When he does, he stays only a very short time. The last time that Mr. Seda visited Mr. Díaz's home, Mr. Díaz left in the middle of the visit with a White American friend. He told Mr. Seda that he and his White American friend had to go out and take care of some important business.

Discussion Questions

1. What should Mr. Seda do? Why?
2. What should Mr. Díaz do? Why?
3. Should a person ever risk losing opportunities to keep a friend?
4. From Mr. Seda's point of view, what should Mr. Díaz do?
5. From Mr. Díaz's point of view, what should Mr. Seda do?
6. If you were Mr. Seda what would you do? Why?
7. If you were Mr. Díaz what would you do? Why?

Planning Multiethnic Conceptual Units and Lessons

Identifying Key Concepts

When planning a curriculum which is multiethnic and decision-making focused, the teacher or curriculum committee should start by identifying key concepts within the social science disciplines which can greatly contribute to students' understanding of American society and culture. These concepts should be higher level ones which can encompass numerous facts and lower level generalizations. They should have the power to organize a great deal of information and

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the potential to explain significant aspects of the experiences of ethnic groups in the United States. Each social science discipline contains concepts with these characteristics. Figure 4 contains a selected list of these concepts that can be used to incorporate ethnic content into the social studies curriculum.

Identifying Key Generalizations

After a teacher or curriculum committee has selected key concepts from each of the disciplines, at least one key (universal) generalization related to each of the concepts chosen should be identified. Each key generalization should be a high-order statement which can help to explain human behavior in all cultures, times, and places. It should not contain references to any particular culture or group, and should be a universal-type statement which is capable of empirical verification. A social studies curriculum committee might identify the key concepts and generalizations which are illustrated in Chart 1.

Identifying Intermediate Level Generalizations

After the teacher or curriculum committee has identified the key concepts and key generalizations around which the curriculum will be organized, intermediate level generalizations should be identified for each of the key concepts. An intermediate level generalization applies to a nation or cultures and regions within a nation.[26] Intermediate level generalizations are essentially forms of the key generalizations which are stated in such a way that they are limited to a particular nation or to a particular region within a nation. Examples of intermediate level generalizations are found in Chart 1.

Figure 4**

Organizing Concepts for
Ethnic Studies Curricula

DISCIPLINE	KEY CONCEPTS
Anthropology	culture culture diversity acculturation forced acculturation cultural assimilation race racial mixture sub-culture syncretism melting pot cultural genocide ethnocentrism
Economics	scarcity poverty production consumption capitalism economic exploitation
Geography	ethnic enclave region ghetto inner-city location
History*	immigration migration change
Political Science	power powerlessness separatism oppression social protest interest group legitimacy authority power elite colony colonized rebellion
Psychology	identity aggression repression displacement
Sociology	discrimination ethnic group ethnic minority group prejudice racism socialization status values

*Identifying organizing historical concepts is especially difficult because history does not possess unique concepts but uses concepts from all social science disciplines to study human behavior in the past. For a further discussion of this point see James A. Banks, "Teaching Black History with a Focus on Decision-Making," Social Education, Vol. 35 (November 1971), pp. 740-745, ff. 820-821.

**Reprinted with permission from James A. Banks, "Teaching for Ethnic Literacy: A Comparative Approach," Social Education, Vol. 37 (December, 1973), p. 749.

CHART 1 A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR A MULTIETHNIC SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

KEY CONCEPTS AND DISCIPLINES	KEY GENERALIZATIONS	INTERMEDIATE LEVEL GENERALIZATIONS	LOWER LEVEL GENERALIZATIONS
Immigration-migration (Geography)	In all societies individuals and groups have moved to seek better economic, political and social opportunities. However, movement of individuals and groups has been both voluntary and forced.	Individuals and groups within the United States have moved to seek better economic, political and social opportunities. However, movement of individuals and groups within the United States has been both voluntary and forced.	--Native Americans have frequently moved within the United States because of forced migration, wars, and economic conditions. --Most Italian Americans who immigrated to the United States came primarily to improve their economic status. --Large numbers of Afro-Americans migrated to Northern and Western cities in the early 1900s to escape discrimination in the South. --During World War II Japanese Americans were forced to move from their homes to federal internment camps.
Power (Political Science)	There is a continuous struggle both within and between various groups for power and influence.	Groups within the United States struggle for power and influence.	
Conflict (History)	Throughout history, conflict has developed between and within racial and ethnic groups.	Conflict has developed between and within racial and ethnic groups throughout United States history.	
Acculturation (Anthropology)	Whenever ethnic groups have extended contact, exchange of cultural traits occurs.	Exchange of cultural traits has occurred between various ethnic and racial groups in the United States.	(In an actual curriculum framework, lower level generalizations would appear in each of these rectangles.)
Racism (Sociology)	Groups with physical and cultural characteristics different from those of groups in power are often the victims of racism and discrimination.	Ethnic groups and ethnic minority groups frequently experience discrimination in the United States.	
Scarcity (Economics)	Groups that are racially or culturally stigmatized within a society frequently receive an unequal share of the goods and services that are distributed.	Ethnic and racially stigmatized groups in the United States frequently receive an unequal share of the goods and services that are distributed.	

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Identifying Lower Level Generalizations

Lower level generalizations describe the experiences of specific groups within a nation like the United States. The teacher or curriculum committee should identify a lower level generalization which relates to each ethnic group that will be included in the unit or curriculum. Each lower level generalization must also be a lower form of a key and intermediate level generalization. In Chart 1, lower level generalizations are identified for Native Americans, Italian-Americans, Afro-Americans, and Japanese Americans. These groups were selected for illustrative purposes. In an actual curriculum all major American ethnic groups should generally be included.

Teaching Strategies and Materials

Once the teacher or curriculum committee has identified a lower level generalization that is related to each of the key concepts and to each of the ethnic groups chosen for study, teaching strategies and essential materials can then be identified. A separate lesson plan should be developed for each of the lower level generalizations included in the unit. To facilitate the development of the lesson plans, the teacher can divide a sheet of paper in half, as illustrated in Figure 5, and insert the related concepts and generalizations on the left side of the paper and the activities and materials on the right side. This format will help to assure that the teaching strategies and activities will contribute directly to the development of the key concepts and generalizations. Often in units and lesson plans, the concepts and generalizations are separated from the activities and there is little explicit relationship between these unit components.

The Comparative Study of Ethnic Groups

While each lower level generalization within the unit will constitute a separate unit component, throughout the unit the teacher should help the students

Figure 5*

Key Ideas and Teaching Strategies

KEY IDEAS	ACTIVITIES
Key Concept: Immigration-Migration Key Generalization: In all cultures individuals and groups have been moved to different regions in order to seek better economic, political, and social opportunities. However, movement of individuals and groups has been both voluntary and forced. Intermediate-Level Generalization: Most individuals and groups who have immigrated to the United States and who have migrated within it were seeking better economic, political, and social opportunities. However, movement of individuals and groups within the United States has been both voluntary and forced. Lower-Level Generalization: During World War II, Japanese Americans were forced to move from their homes to concentration camps.	1. Reading aloud selections from Takashima, A Child in Prison Camp. 2. Discussing how Shichan, Yuki, and Mother felt when David and Father were taken away. 3. Viewing and discussing the drawings in Child in Prison Camp. 4. Viewing and discussing the photographs in Conrat and Conrat, Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans. 5. Reading and discussing Chapter 3, "With Malice Toward None," in Japanese American Curriculum Project, Japanese Americans: The Untold Story. 6. Hypothesizing about why Japanese Americans were interned. 7. Comparing textbooks accounts of "relocation" with accounts in Executive Order 9066, Japanese Americans: The Untold Story, Daniel's Concentration Camps U.S.A.: Japanese Americans and World War II, and Paul Bailey, Concentration Camp U.S.A. 8. Reading selections from the novel, Journey to Topaz by Yoshiko Uchida, and discussing the experiences of the Sakane family during internment. 9. Viewing and discussing the film, Guilty by Reason of Race (NBC, 1972). 10. Summarizing and generalizing about the forced migration (internment) of Japanese Americans during World War II.

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to see both the similarities and differences in the experiences of ethnic groups in the United States. One of the primary goals of social studies instruction should be to help students to formulate intermediate and higher level generalizations. While the students can master the lower level generalizations by studying content about specific ethnic groups, intermediate and higher level generalizations can be developed only when they compare and contrast the experiences of various ethnic groups. High level generalizations cannot be formulated without comparisons. For example, when studying about immigration, students can compare and contrast the experiences of groups, such as Native Americans, Italian-Americans, Afro-Americans and Japanese-Americans. A data retrieval chart, as illustrated in Figure 6, is a simple and convenient device that can help students to formulate and test generalizations about the experiences of ethnic groups in the United States.

Summary

In this paper, five common assumptions about ethnic studies are identified and criticized. They are: (1) ethnic studies is the study of ethnic minority groups, (2) ethnic studies is for ethnic minorities, (3) ethnic studies is an addition to the curriculum, (4) ethnic studies is the study of strange customs, and (5) ethnic studies is the celebration of ethnic holidays. These assumptions have adversely affected the development and implementation of school ethnic studies programs. Ethnic studies should be based on different assumptions and should be, in part, the scientific and humanistic examination of those variables related to ethnicity which influence human behavior. Ethnic studies should also be conceptualized as a process of curriculum reform that will result in the formulation of a new curriculum with novel assumptions, goals, and means. At the heart of these new assumptions will be a novel notion of the concept American, and a study of historical and contemporary social events from multiethnic perspectives, rather

Figure 6

Data Retrieval Chart on Immigration

Key Questions	Native Americans	Italian-Americans	Afro-Americans	Japanese-Americans
When did they come to America?				
Why did they come?				
What kind of discrimination did they face?				
Have they had economic mobility?				
What is their general social status today?				

than exclusively or primarily from the perspectives of Anglo-American social scientists and historians.

Although an effective ethnic studies curriculum should foster constructive social change, ethnic studies should not promote ethnic ethnocentrism and ethnic polarization. To foster democratic social change and yet help reduce ethnic tensions, ethnic studies must have at least three major goals: (1) to help individuals to clarify their ethnic identities and to function effectively within their own ethnic communities, (2) to help individuals to develop a sensitivity to and understanding of other ethnic cultures and to function effectively within them, and (3) to help individuals to develop the ability to make reflective decisions on social issues and to take effective actions to resolve social problems. These goals are highly interdependent; the attainment of one is unlikely to occur unless each one is realized to some degree. The final part of this paper outlines specific steps which social studies teachers can take to implement a multiethnic social studies curriculum which is consistent with the goals of ethnic studies delineated by the author.

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